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EDUCATION IN FRANCE

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Description

A study of the organization, administration, and curricula of the French educational system under the Third Republic, and the changes introduced by the Vichy Government, with reference to the direction of post-liberation reforms.

18 August 1944

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Summary	iv
I. Introduction: Historical Background of the French Educational System	1
II. Organization of Education under the Third Republic	5
A. Central Administration	5
1. Centralized Control	5
2. Geographic Organization	5
3. Private Schools	6
B. Institutions	6
1. Nursery Schools	7
2. Primary Schools	7
3. Post-primary Courses	8
4. Secondary Schools	8
5. Normal Schools	9
6. Higher Institutions	9
7. Technical Schools	10
C. Teachers	10
1. Appointment	10
2. Qualifications	11
D. Curricula	12
1. Elementary Courses	12
2. Secondary Courses	12
3. The Baccalauréat	13
E. Reforms under the Third Republic	13
1. Democratic Reforms	14
2. Reforms toward Practical Education	15
III. Changes under the Vichy Regime	16
A. Administrative Control	16
B. Emphasis on Vocational Education	16
C. Curricula	17
1. Elementary Courses	17
2. Secondary Courses	17
3. "General Education" and Sports	18
4. Religious Instruction	18
5. Anti-Semitism	19

Page

D. Teachers..... 19
1. Training..... 19
2. Appointment..... 20
3. Persecution..... 20
4. Resistance..... 20

IV. Effects of the War on the Schools..... 21

A. Destruction of Facilities..... 21
B. Countermeasures..... 21
1. Relief..... 21
2. Discipline..... 22

V. Conclusion: Post-Liberation Problems..... 24

VI. Appendix: Youth Organizations..... 25

A. Organizations under the Third Republic..... 25
B. Organizations under Vichy..... 25
1. General Policy..... 25
2. Leadership Training..... 26
3. Chantiers de la Jeunesse..... 27
4. Compagnons de France..... 27
5. Religious Organizations..... 28
6. Political Groups..... 28
7. Student Associations..... 29
8. Forces Unies de la Jeunesse..... 29

Summary

1. The educational system of France under the Third Republic was highly centralized under state control of administration, teaching methods, and curricula. Private institutions had a limited autonomy but were subject to government inspection and regulations.

2. Schools and curricula were organized in a primary school system, often supplemented by vocational training, designed for working class students; and a secondary school system for students preparing for the universities. Because working class students usually could not afford prolonged education, most of the higher professional and administrative posts of France which required university degrees were occupied by members of the well-to-do classes.

3. The academic standard of French schools was high and competition was intense, especially throughout the secondary system. The traditional aim of French education has been to cultivate independence and integrity of thought and to produce an intellectual and governmental élite. Classical subjects were stressed, often at the expense of practical learning. Although scientific subjects gradually gained more prominence, the integration of classical and practical subjects remained an unsolved problem.

4. The changes introduced by the Vichy Government have been toward more practical and physical training at the expense of classical education. As in Germany, the

acquiring of broad knowledge and the practice of independent thinking have been discouraged.

5. After the liberation it may be expected that restrictions imposed by the Vichy Government will be eliminated and that reforms will be instituted to solve the educational problems inherited from the Third Republic as well as those arising directly from the war.

6. (See Appendix.) Youth organizations have played an important role in France. Under the Third Republic they supplemented formal education, which afforded little recreation. Under Vichy youth groups have been organized along militaristic lines similar to National Socialist groups.

EDUCATION IN FRANCE

I. INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The educational system of France during the Third Republic was thoroughly centralized under the state. Government control of administration, curricula, and teaching methods followed a long struggle between the state and the Catholic Church over influence in education. In pre-Revolutionary France all education had been directed by the Church, but with the Constitution of 1791 and the Napoleonic reforms, the state began to assume control through a policy of cooperation with the Church. After 1808 French secondary and higher education were nationalized by the establishment of the Imperial University (Université de France) which controlled courses and the appointment of teachers. The term "university" referred to the whole hierarchy of the public education system rather than to one type of institution. Although private secondary establishments existed and were often directed by religious congregations, they were subject to inspection by University authorities.

Subsequent laws increased the freedom of the Church in education, but the state remained dominant. The Guizot reforms of 1833 completed the Imperial University system by the establishment of public primary schools, but also sanctioned corresponding private schools under clerical

direction. The Church gained another victory with the Falloux Law of 1850 which permitted clerical teaching in secondary schools provided candidates held ecclesiastical credentials equivalent to the state certificate. Finally in 1875 establishment of Catholic universities was permitted, and until 1880 clerical faculties and state authorities shared the right to grant university degrees.

Under the Third Republic the conflict between the Church and the state came to a head, for the influence of the Church in education was curbed by a new policy of secularization and neutrality. During this period the Church supported conservative political elements as against the Republicans who threatened its authority. As a result, supporters of the Republic imposed new limitations on the Church in the field of education. In 1880 the Jesuit schools, an important factor in French education since the sixteenth century, were abolished. The establishment of free compulsory elementary schooling by Jules Ferry in 1881 further extended secular instruction. After 1896, when the Radical-Socialist Ferdinand Buisson became director of public instruction, the Church again lost influence in education. At that time the universities of France were reorganized into the state-supervised system which exists today. Finally, from 1901 to 1905 a series of laws abolished all teaching by religious orders and limited the staffs of Catholic schools to instructors authorized by

the state. In spite of these laws a number of religious schools maintained themselves and constitute the majority of French private schools today.

During the 1920's the political struggle between Church and state over education was expressed in the program of the Leftist parties which rose to power in 1924. They proposed the establishment of the école unique, a foundation school for children from all social classes.

As compulsory elementary education was extended the influence of state elementary school teachers was also extended, especially in provincial regions and small towns. These teachers manifested strong Republican tendencies and became a powerful force in shaping the political and social attitudes of the country. They were largely responsible for the Leftist tendencies and the anti-clericalism prevailing in many provincial districts, as well as for preserving unity of belief in the democratic ideals of the Republic. They were also largely responsible for the widespread taste for academic learning and respect for intellectual achievement characteristic of the French people; these traits found further expression in high scholastic standards, the competitive spirit in education, love of freedom and in the integrity of thought prevailing under the Third Republic.

Against this background, the changes in the educational

system made by the Vichy Government stand out in contrast to the principles adhered to under the Third Republic. These changes have effected no improvement in the educational system as a whole, but instead have been designed to establish in France a limited practical training similar to the National Socialist system of Germany.

II. ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

A. Central Administration

Notable features of school and university administration under the Third Republic were: 1) a democratic system of representation of teachers and the public on the main advisory bodies determining educational policy, and 2) centralization of all institutions under state control.

1. Centralized Control. Administrative efficiency and uniform education of French youth were ensured by state controls. The Ministry of National Education conducted the central administration, with the assistance of two advisory bodies; the Consultative Committee of Public Education handled personnel questions; and the Higher Council of Public Instruction dealt with problems of supervision and teaching methods. All types of educational institutions elected representatives to the Higher Council. Contact with schools was maintained by the central administration through inspectors-general, responsible directly to the Ministry of National Education, and through primary school inspectors responsible to the Higher Council of Public Instruction. The state also assumed most of the financial burden for communal schools, thus ensuring greater centralization.

2. Geographic Organization. In 1854 France was divided into 16 académies (17 including Algiers) or educational districts. In each educational district all schools above

elementary level were under the authority of a Rector, who was responsible to the central government and was usually a regular professor of higher education. He was advised by the Academic Council and the University Council of his region, and assisted by an academy inspector for each department under his rule. Direction of elementary schools was shared by the prefects and the departmental educational councils, which included elected teachers and public representatives, and supervised both appointments and maintenance of public and private schools.

3. Private Schools. Private institutions could be founded, with permission of the state, by French citizens who had the necessary age and teaching qualifications. These establishments enjoyed some independence in determining educational policy, for they were represented on both the national and departmental educational councils. State control was assured, however, by the supervision of the inspectors and the exclusive right of the state to give the examinations for which curricula were designed and to grant all degrees.

B. Institutions

French schools were organized on three levels, primary, secondary, and university, comprising the hierarchy called the University of France (Université de France). The organization

of state schools was unique in that the elementary (or primary) and the secondary institutions constituted two distinct systems, each providing a complete grammar school education for the student. Primary schools were attended by working class children intending to earn a living after graduation; secondary schools were mainly for the middle and upper class children preparing for the universities and higher professional schools or for jobs requiring secondary education. Although under the Third Republic rural and working class students could and did obtain secondary and university education through state scholarships granted on the basis of scholastic ability, most of them were restricted to primary schools for economic reasons.

The types of French schools under the Republic may be outlined as follows, with parallels drawn where possible to the American system.

1. Nursery Schools. Before entering primary school, children up to six years of age could attend either the écoles maternelles, nursery schools established in the larger cities and industrial centers, or the pre-elementary grades of the primary schools proper.

2. Primary Schools. As in America, elementary schooling was compulsory for children from six to fourteen years of age. Since the Guizot reforms of 1833 every commune in

France had at least one primary school or separate establishments for boys and girls (in some cases schools were shared by neighboring communes).

3. Post-primary Courses. Post-primary schools (écoles primaires supérieures) and complementary courses (cours complémentaires) were alternative institutions for supplementary academic or practical training after primary school. Entrance requirements were the certificat d'études primaires obtained on completion of primary courses and, for post-primary school, success in a competitive examination. These intermediate courses correspond roughly to American continuation courses, for they were intended mainly to complete the child's education if secondary school was not planned. In a few cases, however, they served as preparation for entrance to the collèges and lycées, the classical secondary schools.

4. Secondary Schools. The lycées and collèges corresponded to American high schools in that they prepared for university education. After 1890 secondary education was available to girls in separate institutions giving approximately the same instruction as those for boys. The curricula of the lycées and collèges were fundamentally the same, and both led up to the baccalauréat, the final examination required for entrance to the universities. However, the lycées, established in the larger cities and supported by the state, generally had

better teachers than did the collèges which were usually established in smaller towns and were supported by the communes. Both institutions had their own elementary grades for students from six to eleven years of age. These differed from the primary school grades in that they condensed elementary education into five years instead of six, for students preparing for the seven years of upper secondary school.

5. Normal Schools. Institutions for teacher training fell into three main categories. Primary normal schools (écoles normales primaires) for men and for women existed in every department. Their instructors and teachers of the écoles primaires supérieures were trained in the higher primary normal schools (Ecoles Normales Primaires Supérieures) of which there was one for men at Saint-Cloud and one for women at Fontenay-aux-Roses. Annexed to these were normal schools for teachers in commerce and industry. The higher normal schools (Ecoles Normales Supérieures) at Paris for men and Sevres for women, trained teachers for secondary schools.

6. Higher Institutions. In the field of higher education there were seventeen state universities including one at Algiers, and a number of similar private institutions, each with separate faculties for law, science, letters, and medicine. Supplementing the universities were the Grands Etablissements and the Grandes Ecoles Specialisées for

research and special advanced and professional study, and a number of Catholic and a few Protestant establishments.

7. Technical Schools. Those who had not taken secondary schooling were not eligible for higher education but might obtain vocational training in special state schools in commerce and industry, agriculture, engineering, and various trades. After the first World War important steps were taken to build up these institutions and establish orientation centers to assist young people in making their choice of trade.

C. Teachers

Under the Third Republic the selection and promotion of teachers were ultimately controlled by the state, but provision was made for participation of teachers and the public in nomination of school and university instructors. Applicants for all teaching positions were required to fulfill high standards of training and ability.

1. Appointment. Appointment, transfer, or promotion of elementary school teachers were supervised by the prefects in consultation with the departmental councils of education and with the advice of the academy inspectors responsible to the central administration. The teaching personnel of secondary and higher institutions was appointed by the Minister of Education with

the advice of the Consultative Committee on Public Education and a special permanent section within the Higher Council of Public Instruction. Instructors without professorial titles were sometimes chosen by the Rector with the advice of the university council concerned. But responsibility for professorial appointments rested ultimately with the Minister of Education. Teachers and representatives of public and private institutions took part in handling personnel questions through representatives on these administrative bodies.

2. Qualifications. Appointment of teaching and administrative personnel was governed by exacting competitive examinations. Elementary school teachers were required to pass the competitive examination (brevet supérieur) following post-primary school training, for entrance to the departmental normal schools which provided three years of training. For lycée and university professorship candidates were required to pass a difficult competitive examination known as the agrégation, or to hold the doctorate. The requirement for collège instructors was less exacting; only a teaching license (license ès lettres or license ès sciences), roughly corresponding to the A. B. degree, from a university was necessary.

D. Curricula

The purposes of education under the Third Republic were to provide, on the one hand, practical instruction for those preparing mainly to earn a living, and on the other, a thorough academic training for those aiming toward higher education and the professions.

1. Elementary Courses. Primary education gave children approximately the same fundamentals taught in American elementary schools, and familiarized them with the principles of the government. The subject matter of the compulsory seven years of elementary school included "the three R's," French grammar, French history and geography, general science, drawing, music, physical education, and manual and moral training. The post-primary school program offered either more advanced work in academic subjects or vocational courses in agriculture, manual arts, commerce, or home economics for girls.

2. Secondary Courses. The traditional purpose of secondary education in France was to give students a generally useful background of theoretical knowledge, based largely on study of classical subjects. Efforts were made, however, to integrate classical studies and practical training. Students in the lycées and collèges could choose between a classical course or a parallel scientific course.

By 1935 some scientific training was compulsory for all students. In the final year the student could specialize in either philosophy or mathematics. Throughout the secondary curriculum a high academic standard was maintained largely through frequent and rigorous examinations.

3. The Baccalauréat. The final examination of the secondary school was typical of the high scholastic demands and competitive character of the French educational system. The first part of the baccalauréat was usually taken at about the age of seventeen, the second part at eighteen. It called for earlier intellectual maturity than under the American system, for at an age when American students enter college, French students were examined on material given in the first two years of college.

E. Reforms under the Third Republic

A fundamental weakness of education under the Third Republic was recognized and became the object of reforms. The existence of primary and secondary schools as two separate systems tended to produce on the one hand a working class of limited education, and on the other hand a learned élite with little practical training. Consequently the chief administrative and professional positions of France, for which higher education was a prerequisite, were usually occupied by members of the well-to-do classes.

It was sought, therefore, to integrate the divergent types of education without sacrificing traditional academic standards.

1. Democratic Reforms. The école unique was the principal proposal by which secondary education was to be extended to less privileged groups. It was to provide six years of elementary schooling for children of all social classes, giving equal opportunity to all for promotion to secondary school on the basis of merit alone. The plan contemplated a wide variety of courses to suit different aptitudes and vocational aims; coordination of primary, secondary and technical instruction; free secondary schooling, uniform teacher training through the universities rather than normal schools; and the establishment of a Ministry of National Education.

Although the école unique was never fully realized, some progress was made toward achieving its aims. The Ministry of National Education replaced the old Ministry of Public Instruction and developed new vocational and technical schools. The primary classes in some secondary schools were merged with those of elementary schools. Uniform class and holiday schedules and standardized recruiting methods were introduced. By 1939 legislation to provide free education for qualified students through

primary school and up to the baccalauréat was in effect. Living expenses for needy students entering higher education were partially covered by state scholarships or outright grants.

2. Reforms toward practical education. In secondary schools a series of reforms dating from 1902 was made to integrate classical studies and practical training in order to keep education abreast of modern economic life. One of the first projects of the Ministry of National Education was the establishment of new technical and vocational schools for students over fourteen, providing instruction of from three to six years. Vocational instruction was made compulsory for industrial employees, and employers were encouraged to develop apprentice training.

III. CHANGES UNDER THE VICHY REGIME

The changes since 1940 have increased state control over all phases of education, having as their aim the elimination of democratic methods. They have also introduced more emphasis on practical subjects at the expense of thorough intellectual training.

A. Administrative Control

Although the administrative framework of the educational system has not been changed, participation of teachers and the public in school and university administration has been eliminated. New inspectors appointed by Vichy have helped to remove anti-Vichy members of the school staffs.

B. Emphasis on Vocational Education

In 1941 Vichy abolished the écoles primaires supérieures. Since then students have been encouraged to proceed to technical training or apprenticeship, or to enter the secondary schools which Vichy has "modernized" by introducing additional practical courses. Secondary education is not easily available to most working class students, however, because the school fees were reestablished in 1941 and the scholarships (bourses nationales) for qualified students have been inadequate.

Efforts have been made to encourage vocational instructions, especially in agriculture. These measures have been hampered by the lack of qualified instructors and, in agriculture, by the resistance of farmers to a reform designed to further German exploitation of the land.

C. Curricula

The Vichy Government has introduced curricular changes following the pattern set by the fascist governments of Germany and Italy. In addition to emphasis on practical subjects, every effort has been made to eliminate texts and teachers encouraging a critical attitude toward the New Order.

1. Elementary Courses. The primary schools, one of the most important means of civic instruction under the Third Republic, have become a principal field for collaborationist indoctrination.

2. Secondary Courses. The academic standard of secondary schools has been considerably lowered. The lycée has been made the only school offering Latin, advanced mathematics, and philosophy, while the collège has emphasized practical courses. The baccalauréat has suffered a corresponding decline. Part of the examination has been eliminated; examiners and instructors are obliged to make concessions for students who are not able to meet the former standard owing to undernourishment or other wartime conditions. With a decreased number of hours devoted to mathematics and classical studies, students are inadequately prepared for the written part of the examination which has not been fundamentally changed by Vichy. The baccalauréat has been widely regarded as a device for achieving professional advancement rather than a certificate of accomplishment and a key to higher education.

3. "General Education" and Sports. Soon after the new regime was established, a compulsory program of physical training and indoctrination known as "general education" was introduced in all schools and universities, under control of the new General Commissariat of Sports in the Ministry of Education. In imitation of the German method, "general education" involved a certain number of hours devoted to sports, marching, singing, and Vichy propaganda. Sports associations based on an "athlete's oath" of self-improvement for community service, were also organized throughout the country on a local, regional, and national basis.

The emphasis on physical culture has met with opposition on the part of parents, students, and teachers, because widespread undernourishment has rendered the students incapable of strenuous exercise, and it is felt by many that intellectual education is being sacrified to muscular training and pro-Vichy propaganda.

4. Religious Instruction. At first the Vichy policy on religious teaching completely reversed that of the Third Republic. In September 1940, when Chevalier was Minister of Education, the legislation of 1904 prohibiting teaching by members of religious congregations was abrogated. In 1941 Chevalier made religious teaching by lay instructors compulsory in elementary schools, a step which met with strong opposition from the Church. In March 1941, Carcapino, who succeeded

Chevalier, made religious instruction optional and decreed that it be given outside of the elementary schools. When Abel Bonnard became Minister of Education in 1942, "moral science" rather than religious teaching was emphasized. Finally, religious teaching largely gave place to methods of indoctrination.

5. Anti-Semitism. The Vichy authorities have attempted to stimulate anti-Semitic feeling by seeking to establish a "scientific" basis for race discrimination. Special chairs in Jewish "history" and ethnography have been created at the University of Paris and the Collège de France for the purpose of cultivating anti-Semitism throughout the educational system. Resistance to this campaign is general among teachers and students, since the French people as a whole are not prejudiced against the Jews.

D. Teachers

1. Training. Vichy abolished the primary normal schools partly because they were believed to produce overly-academic teachers but chiefly because they were considered hotbeds of republicanism. They have been replaced by Institutes for Professional Formation. Primary school teachers have subsequently been qualified on receiving the baccalauréat and ten months of the new training, followed by a brief period of practice teaching, three months of specialization in agriculture, domestic science or technical subjects, and special training in "general education." The Ecoles Normales Primaires

Superieures were also abolished and replaced by two Ecoles Nationales Préparatoires à l'Enseignement dans les Collèges, admitting candidates holding the baccalauréat.

2. Appointment. Appointment of teachers has been brought more directly under ministerial control. In June 1940 the special permanent section of the Higher Council of Public Instruction was abolished; since then all university professors have been appointed by the Minister of Education from a list of candidates submitted by the university faculty concerned.

3. Persecution. To eliminate political opposition, Jews, Frenchmen of foreign descent, and Freemasons have been excluded from the teaching profession and all those suspected of anti-collaborationist tendencies have been dismissed, subjected to the labor draft, or persecuted by other methods. Disciplinary measures have been especially severe toward elementary school instructors because of their influence on public opinion. Vichy has also forbidden such unions as the National Union of Elementary School Teachers.

4. Resistance. Inadequate salaries and disapproval of the Vichy policy have caused many teachers to resign, but many have continued to give secret instruction according to the standards of the Third Republic. Some have formed clandestine syndicats and participated in sabotage. Important underground papers developed by former teachers have been the Université Libre and L'Ecole Laïque which are widely circulated in France.

IV. EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE SCHOOLS

A. Destruction of Facilities

The equipment of universities, laboratories, schools, and libraries throughout France has been greatly impaired by the war. In the schools, books and clothing are reduced to less than 25 percent of their pre-war quantity, and are available only if a coupon is presented for each item. The difficulty of publishing schoolbooks has given rise to a black market in them. Study conditions are made difficult by the necessity of moving schools frequently to safer areas, or of closing them altogether. Those which continue to operate have suffered from inadequate heating and poor sanitation. In higher institutions advanced work is made difficult if not impossible by the lack of research materials and laboratory equipment.

In addition to the lack of facilities, widespread malnutrition has reduced the efficiency of students and teachers, and the labor draft has seriously depleted both faculties and student bodies.

B. Countermeasures

1. Relief. The Red Cross, the National Assistance Service, and the Friends Service Committee have ameliorated the situation somewhat with medical care, distribution of extra food in the schools, and aid to evacuees. Children have been sent out of bombed areas to private families, to charitable institutions, or to other communal shcools which as a result have become

overcrowded. Special correspondence courses and radio programs have been organized for those unable to attend school. However, these measures are reported to have been unsuccessful since students in elementary grades, who constitute the most acute problem, have not profited enough from unsupervised instruction. In addition, the shortage of food and medical supplies has continued to prevent relief measures on an adequate scale.

2. Discipline. With the wartime disorganization of the educational system, Vichy found it necessary to introduce new disciplinary measures. Truancy has increased, often because of shortened class periods which leave students idle for large parts of the day, or because parents disapproving of Vichy policy refuse to allow their children to attend school. To discourage truancy the Vichy Government has made students found on the street during school hours subject to arrest, and on a repeated offense their parents are obliged to forfeit a share of their family allowances. To guard against student uprisings in the universities, leaflets have been banned, mail has been strictly supervised, and demonstrations have been made punishable by expulsion.

The detrimental effect of these conditions on the students has been considerable. It has been stated that the generation growing up in France since 1939 will be a major post-war problem as a result of wartime privations and the

demoralization caused by constant evacuations and interruptions of school schedules. An even greater problem will be to undo the harm caused by Vichy indoctrination.

V. CONCLUSION: POST-LIBERATION PROBLEMS

The inadequacies of education under the Third Republic have not been relieved by the changes instituted under Vichy. Questions for consideration after the liberation will therefore include problems inherited from the Third Republic as well as those provided by the war and Vichy policy. Some of these questions as seen by Resistance leaders and spokesmen in the Provisional Consultative Assembly, are the following: (1) the need for equality of opportunity in education for all students, which might be achieved by common foundation schools and higher administrative schools free from social discrimination and discriminatory practices with respect to examinations and scholarships; (2) curricular changes to obtain a better balance of practical and academic subjects; (3) maintenance of high standards in health and welfare as they affect education; (4) rebuilding or restoration of educational facilities and equipment destroyed by the war; (5) removal of Vichy teaching methods, personnel, and textbooks; (6) re-education of teachers and the re-establishment of their right to participate in determining educational policies; (7) restoration of youth activities and the establishment of facilities to meet their needs and to reorient those who have been indoctrinated with Vichy principles.

VI. APPENDIX: YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

A. Organizations under the Third Republic

Under the Third Republic youth organizations were an important extra-curricula part of the educational system. The three major scout organizations for boys, Eclaireurs de France, Eclaireurs Unionistes de France, and Scouts de France, with similar organizations for girls, resembled American scout groups in their purpose and activities. The Auberges de la Jeunesse, a youth hostel system, was also organized, mainly for the benefit of poorer townspeople. Youth groups, organized by various political parties, were freely available to young men and women interested in politics. Both scout movements and political organizations provided for religious interests. The Scouts de France were a Catholic group, the Eclaireurs Unionistes were mainly Protestant, and there was also a special Jewish movement. The principal Catholic youth organizations, grouped within the Association Catholique de Jeunesse Française, were primarily concerned with social welfare work and religious instruction of children.

B. Organizations under Vichy

1. General Policy. Vichy used youth movements to supplement the indoctrination received by French youth in the schools and to provide new sources of labor for Germany and agricultural France. The Vichy policy was, therefore, first, to tighten control of existing groups in order to prevent

anti-German opinion among the young people; and secondly, new groups and cadres for leadership training were created following the German model. The severe youth problem and unemployment in France after the Armistice were important reasons for making full and immediate use of existing organizations, despite the lack of trained Vichyite leadership. The former scout groups and eventually most of the new youth movements were consequently placed under the Ministry of Education, which controlled the separate organizations through regional delegates. The Auberges de la Jeunesse were replaced in the South Zone by the Auberges Françaises de la Jeunesse and the Camarades de la Route, made up largely of workers, students, and teachers, and at least outwardly loyal to the Vichy Government.

2. Leadership Training. The Ecole Nationale des Cadres, founded at Uriage in 1940 for the training of youth leaders, became the model for regional schools established later throughout the south zone. The program of the Ecole des Cadres was based originally on the philosophy of the National Revolution as expressed by Marshal Pétain. Courses were designed to give the students an "objective understanding" of the causes for the downfall of France and of the sociological problems resulting from the defeat.

In 1942, when Laval assumed control of youth movements, the pretense at objectivity in leadership training was abandoned for a more frankly totalitarian outlook. The écoles des cadres

were placed under control of collaborationists, and the training was revised to indoctrinate prospective leaders with pro-German ideas and to give them the practical and athletic training required by the Vichy Government. A new national school was founded by Vichy in 1942 and in 1943 the École des Cadres at Uriage was abolished.

3. Chantiers de la Jeunesse. The Chantiers de la Jeunesse were formed in 1940 in France, Algeria, and the colonies as a compulsory national service for youths of military age. Unlike other groups, the Chantiers with their special cadres were under the Ministry of Labor, and were subsequently an important source of labor for Germany. The labor draft, however, took heavy toll of the trained leaders of the Chantiers, leaving the groups without firm collaborationist control. Since the Chantiers included members of doubtful loyalty to Germany, the organization was suppressed in 1944.

4. Compagnons de France. There was less military emphasis in the second of the two main organizations created by the Vichy Government. The Compagnons de France, a voluntary group for youths under twenty, was created in 1940 to supplement the scout movements. Its members pledged themselves to learn and fulfill their civic responsibilities in the reconstruction of France by participation in public welfare works. The Compagnons were also appropriate to the Vichy scheme for

encouraging practical and technical skills, since they had a well developed plan for technical training and pre-apprenticeship. One of their main functions was to spread the doctrines of the National Revolution among the persons they met in the course of their work. During 1943, however, conflict developed between the Laval Government and the Compagnons, who since the days of Marshal Pétain had tended to be anti-German and pro-Catholic. Because of growing dissension, the movement was formally dissolved in 1944, but has apparently continued to function and has gained respect among French youth for its independent attitude.

5. Religious Organizations. Expansion of religious organizations has been discouraged by Vichy. Since the Catholic clergy have shown disapproval of the Vichy educational policy, the government has been reluctant to allow them too much control of youth groups. Furthermore, it is known that the Jesuits have exercised anti-German influence in the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse, and that the Jeunesse Ouvriere Catholique (J.O.C.), one of the most developed of Catholic youth groups, has tended to be pro-British.

6. Political Groups. None of the former political youth groups is recognized by the Vichy government. However, the totalitarian political organizations in both North and South Zones have subsidiary groups for young people. Modelled on

the German example, they emphasize physical training and military formations, and sometimes advocate brutal disciplinary methods for recalcitrant citizens in the manner of the Nazi youth groups.

7. Student Associations. All independent student political associations, formerly freely constituted in the universities, have been forbidden by Vichy. Instead, a corporation was formed in 1943, unifying all Catholic, Protestant, and State student bodies. The corporation, led by collaborationists, represents a further attempt by the Vichy government to control the opinion of university students who, because of their superior information, are inclined to be more skeptical of the regime than younger students.

8. Forces Unies de la Jeunesse. In spite of the efforts of the Vichy Government to rally French youth for collaboration, the various resistance movements in France have organized their own youth sections, and united them in 1943 into a body known as the Forces Unies de la Jeunesse (FUJ). In addition to new formations, the FUJ include the anti-collaborationist membership of the Catholic organizations. Some of the leaders formerly associated with the Ecole Nationale des Cadres are also known to have joined the resistance youth movement.